1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda
602

CHAPTER XXV

LANGUAGE

121 My chief purpose in writing this chapter is to give information which, I hope, may increase the value of the linguistic material which is scattered throughout this book, and especially to describe some of the doubts and difficulties which I encountered in my attempts to reduce the Toda language to writing.

At the end of the chapter I give some new facts relating to the sacred and secret languages of the Todas, and I will begin with a brief sketch of the views commonly held on the linguistic position of the Toda language.

197 The Nilgiri Hills are situated at the point of junction of three of the chief linguistic districts of Southern India. In the country on the South and East, Tamil is spoken; on the West, the language is Malayalam, and the people of Mysore to the North speak chiefly Canarese. The Todas live at this meeting-place of three languages, but owing to their isolated position their language is not a blend of these, but has very definite and distinctive characters of its own, as might, indeed, be expected from the character of the people. The Badagas with whom the Todas have much intercourse speak a corrupt form of Canarese, and the Todas have undoubtedly borrowed many words from their language.

114 Previous writers have differed in their views on the special
197 affinities of the Toda language. No one has now, I think, any doubt that the language is Dravidian. Bernhard Schmid,[1] who wrote in 1837, appears to me to have known more of

[1] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1837, vol. v. p. 155.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the true Toda language than anyone who has written since, and he ascribed two-thirds of the Toda vocabulary to Tamil and was unable to trace the remaining third to any other language. Caldwell[1] believed the language of the Todas to be most closely allied to Tamil. According to Pope[2] the language was originally old Canarese with the addition of a few Tamil forms, but he has included in his vocabulary words which have probably been borrowed from the Badagas.

The linguistic material which I have collected is far more extensive than that which was available at the time Pope wrote his sketch, and though the material is in one way less satisfactory since it has been collected after thirty more years of Toda intercourse with the outside world, it is in another way more satisfactory than any previous material in that by far the larger part of it is derived from the formulæ used in the religious ceremonies and in magic. It is, of course, well known that an ancient language may linger on in religious and magical formulæ long after it has disappeared from ordinary speech, and when I discovered how many of these formulæ were preserved by the Todas, I made a point of collecting as many as possible in the hope that they might preserve relics of the ancient speech of the Todas.

In collecting this material I suffered under grave disadvantages; firstly in not being a phonologist, and secondly, in my ignorance of any Dravidian language. I had had, however, a fairly large experience in taking down unwritten languages phonetically, and, whatever the errors into which I have fallen, I hope that they are consistent throughout my record. As a matter of fact, I find my spelling to be fairly constant, words taken down from different individuals and on different occasions being written in the same way.

From one point of view my ignorance of Dravidian languages is not an unmixed evil. When anyone hears a language which is allied to one he knows, it is almost impossible to avoid being influenced by this knowledge. This

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 557.

[2] *Outlines of the Toda Grammar* appended to Marshall's *Phrenologist among the Todas*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

114 influence has not been escaped by some of those who have
126 previously recorded words from the Toda language. Thus in his *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan Languages of India and Higher Asia*,[1] Hunter gives two vocabularies from different sources which he calls Toḍuva and Toḍa, and from the differences between these he thought they might be different dialects. According to Breeks these differences are due to the fact that the compiler of one vocabulary paid exclusive attention to the sounds he heard, while the compiler of the other was influenced by his knowledge of the derivation of the words. I have very little doubt that many of those who have recorded Toda words have not written them down exactly as the Todas said them, but as they ought to have said them according to the usual rules of Dravidian pronunciation.

We find, in consequence, very great diversity in the spelling of Toda words, and when there is agreement, it is of very little value, for many of those who have written on the Todas have evidently adopted the spellings of previous writers, even when they quite misrepresent the real sounds.

197 Another difficulty which besets the investigation of the Toda language is the presence of dialectical differences even in the small community of only eight hundred people. Metz[2] noted such differences, and I found undoubted variations in the vocabularies of the two divisions of the Todas (see p. 687) and suspected variations in pronunciation.

194 Still another difficulty is the large use of sounds, chiefly *sh*, *ch*, and *th*,[3] euphonically inserted in words. Pope notes this as quite a Toda peculiarity, and it adds greatly to the formidable character of this language, though a word of the most appalling complexity may become quite simple when these euphonic (!) sounds are eliminated.

191 Another of the sources of discrepancies in Toda vocabu-
192 laries is the influence of the Badagas to which I have already referred. The Todas are a bilingual people speaking Badaga in their intercourse with other races and keeping Toda for

[1] London, 1868.

[2] *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sci.*, 1857, N.S., vol. i. p. 104.

[3] These sounds have usually been omitted in the Toda words as written in this book.

184 846 616 difference between the two divisions in the hand-burning ceremony is entirely foreign to this ritual. This is the ceremony of invoking Pirn and Piri, and there is no evident reason why this rite should be practised by the members of one division and not by those of the other. Similarly, the ceremony of offering to Namav by a Teivali woman when going to the seclusion-hut after childbirth stands entirely apart from the dairy ritual.

Both of these ceremonies are unlike the ordinary run of Toda ritual, and it is, on the whole, most probable that they have been borrowed.

616 796 174 184 We have thus seen that a large number of the ceremonial differences between the two divisions may be regarded as secondary consequences of the differences in the dairy ritual and that the few ceremonies which stand in no relation to the dairy ritual may have been borrowed.

Taking the differences of ceremonial as a whole, it is tempting to surmise that some of them may have arisen owing to differences of environment during some past stage of Toda history. The Todas now form so small a community, living in so small a space and knowing so much about each other, that it seems improbable that the differences can have come altogether into existence while they have been on the Nilgiri Hills. In so far as they can be explained as secondary consequences of the dairy organisation, it is possible that they may have arisen since the Todas have been on the Nilgiris, but when the practices have no relation to the dairy ritual it seems improbable that one division would have adopted a custom quite independently of the other.

174 184 192 197 616 Such a view would involve the consequence that at some time in their history the two divisions of the Toda people have had a different environment, and if the Todas are derived from one tribe or caste, this could only have come about if the two divisions came to the hills at different times, the interval having been sufficiently long to enable differences of ceremonial to have arisen. The differences would perhaps be still more readily explicable if we suppose the Tartharol and Teivaliol to have been derived from two different castes or tribes which reached the hills at different times, and I will

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

now proceed to give some evidence which points to this having really happened.

Perhaps the strongest evidence in this direction is the existence of the differences of language to which I have already referred. The chief differences are as follows:—

	Tarthar.	Teivall.
Wooden spoon	*chudi* or *sudi*	*kîrstagi*
Basket	*tòdri*	*putukêri*
Food vessel	*paterkh*	*tòdriterkh*
Round metal vessel	*kûdikumm*	*kûdichakh*
Milking-vessel	*pun*	*kònipun*
A dairy vessel	*tat*	*kashtat*
Iron instrument	*pòditch*	*pòtch*
Comb	*tîrkòli*	*siekhkòli*
Small boy's cloak	*kuchâr*	*kupichâr*
Roof	*pòdri*	*idrnpòdri*
Western side of hut	*meilmerkal*	*meilkushkòni*
Eastern side of hut	*kîmerkal*	*kîkushkòni*
Mushroom	*kiûn*	*âlabi*
A tree	*tipòti*	*ketak*
A black fruit	*kalpom*	*akatpom*
To-morrow morning	*selikhaski*	*pedrkhaski*

I was given one sentence as quite different in the two divisions. This was "Bring a piece of ragged cloth to the dairy!" By the Tartharol this would be rendered, *Palivorsk pari evd*! but by the Teivaliol, *Kutanpari palivorsk panmeiliteivd*! the chief difference here being in the verb.

Though these are all the differences in vocabulary of which I could obtain a record, I was told by the Tartharol that formerly there were many more, and that they were diminishing in number because "the Teivaliol were now learning to speak properly."

I think it possible that a phonologist might also detect many differences in pronunciation and accent in the two divisions. I thought that I detected such differences myself —that the Tartharol used a *k* when the Teivaliol used a *g*, for instance—but I am so uncertain about this that I do not feel entitled to lay any emphasis on it. In one case, however, the Todas themselves told me of a difference in pronunciation. They said that the usual word for dairy was pronounced as I have written it in this book but that by the Tartharol it was rather *piili*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

184 Scanty as the evidence is, there can be no doubt of the
197 existence of dialectical differences between the two divisions of the Toda people.

174 Another indication that the Todas are two tribes or castes
184 which have coalesced is of a different and more doubtful
616 kind. There is some reason to believe that people sometimes
775 preserve a relic of their migrations in the belief concerning the path taken by the dead in their journey to the next world. We have seen that the Todas believe that the dead journey to the west, but the special point of interest in the present connexion is that the dead Teivaliol are believed to travel by a path different from that traversed by the Tartharol.

I must reserve till the next chapter the full consideration of the path by which the Todas reached the hills, but I hope to show then that there is a great probability that the Todas came from Malabar. If this view be correct, it is not impossible that in the belief as to the different paths traversed by the dead, we may have a relic of two independent migrations.

174 A third indication is one about which I am still more
142 doubtful, because I have no exact observations to support it. When on the hills I was struck at times by differences in the general appearance of the people of the two divisions. Towards the end of my visit I sometimes made a successful guess that an unknown village I was entering was a Teivali village, and this guess was founded, so far as I could tell, on a difference in the appearance of the people. The Teivaliol seemed to me to be, on the whole, darker, and to have a lower type of face. My surmises in this direction only took shape towards the end of my visit, when it was too late to make any exact observations. I know how dangerous such impressions are, and I do not wish to lay any stress on them, and I mention them hoping that more exact observations on the point may be made at some future time.

174 The idea that the two divisions of the Toda community
361 reached the hills at different times is perhaps supported by
621 their distribution on the Nilgiri plateau. In Fig. 73 I give
616 a plan of the district, giving all the villages from which

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 used by the Tartharol. The Nairs of Malabar have a ceremony at the ninth month called *pulikuti*, in which the woman drinks tamarind (*puli*) juice which has been poured over a knife by her brother.[1] The Toda word for the sour taste is *pülchiti*, derived from tamarind, and I have suggested that the name *pülpali* may mean 'tamarind dairy,' and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar.

171 I have now enumerated a number of points in which there is a close resemblance between the customs of the Todas and
174 those of the people of Malabar. In some cases, as in that of the cloth ceremony of the funeral, the resemblance is so close that we seem almost bound to seek its explanation either in identity of origin or in borrowing. We may be confident that if there has been any borrowing from the inhabitants of Malabar, it has not been recent, and we may also be fairly confident that the physical barrier in the past must have prevented any but the most infrequent intercourse between the inhabitants of the Nilgiri plateau and those of Malabar. If we attach any significance to the resemblances I have indicated, the conclusion seems almost inevitable that the Todas at some time lived in Malabar and migrated to the Nilgiri Hills, and it remains to inquire whether there are any other facts in favour of this view.

174 On one line of evidence I cannot speak with any authority,
197 but I strongly suspect that there is a very close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam.

I think there is little doubt that the Toda language is much more nearly allied to Tamil than to Canarese, and I believe that the contrary opinion of Dr. Pope was due to the inclusion in his material of many words borrowed by the Todas from their Canarese-speaking neighbours, the Badagas. Malayalam is closely allied to Tamil, differing from it chiefly in its disuse of the personal terminations of the verbs and in the large number of Sanscrit derivatives,[2] and I should like to make the suggestion, for the consideration of Dravidian philologists,

[1] *Madras Museum Bull.*, iii. p. 242.

[2] Cf. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages*, 2nd ed., London, 1875, p. 23.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

that there is a close resemblance between the Toda language and Malayalam, minus its Sanscrit derivatives.

The Todas claim that their diviners, who, when in their frenzy, are believed to be inspired by the gods, speak the Malayalam language, some clans speaking a language which the Todas say is that of people they call Mondardsetipol, living in Malabar. I do not know whether the Toda claim is justified, but in any case the belief exists that the diviners speak the languages of Malabar, and that these are the languages of the gods. It is possible that in their beliefs concerning the language of the gods the Todas may be preserving a tradition of their mother-tongue, and if it could be proved that the diviners actually speak the Malayalam language the link with Malabar would be very materially strengthened.[1]

The Todas believe that their dead travel towards the West and are able to describe the paths by which they pass. Here, again, there is some reason to think that people may preserve in their beliefs about the passing to the next world a tradition of the route by which their ancestors travelled from a former home, and this may be so in the case of the Todas.

Another fact linking the Todas with Malabar is the use of the tall pole called *tadri* in the funeral ceremonies. This pole is procured for the Todas from the Malabar side of the hills by the Kurumbas, and I was told that suitable poles only grew in Malabar, and the pole is adorned with cowries which are also probably of Malabar origin. Other objects burnt at the funeral, such as the boxes called *pettei* and the umbrella called *miturkwadr*, are also procured from Malabar. The use of objects in funeral ceremonies which are procured from Malabar is suggestive, though, taken alone, it would have little significance.

A fact which would perhaps be regarded by most as more important is that there is now a settlement of the Todas at Gudalur in the Wainad, on one of the routes from Malabar to the Nilgiris. It seems clear that at one time the settlement

[1] It is perhaps worth noting that at present only Teivali diviners are reputed to speak Malayalam.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

tongue is entirely apart from that of the Kôl

family. It is, indeed, now known with absolute certainty to be a dialect of the development of Turanian speech styled Drâvidian;[7] the language of a group of primitive, illiterate, and perhaps warlike tribes who, between three thousand and four thousand years ago, migrated from tracts of Western Asia, and penetrating India, probably through Beluchistan and the natural water lines[8] of the country, filled all its western and southern districts, pushing before them, in some period of their advance, the various tribes of the Kôl aborigines, some of whom, in slavery or menial conditions of life, survived as subjects of their conquerors.

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The Rev. Dr. Caldwell[9] has drawn attention to the remarkable circumstance that the closest and most distinct affinities to the speech of this race are those which have been discovered in the languages of the Finns and Lapps of Northern Europe and of the Ostiaks and other Ugrians of Siberia: and consequently that the Drâvidian is proved, by 'language alone, in the silence of history, in the absence of all ordinary probabilities, to be allied to tribes that appear to have overspread Europe before the arrival of the Goths and the Pelasgi, and even before the arrival of the Celts.'

The characteristics of the Toda branch of this race, form the burden of the following pages. In the process of writing

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[7] A term which, applied by the Brahmans apparently in supercilious envy and contempt of the people they could not conquer—the word Drâvida implying the condition of being beyond the pale of the castes—is now used ethnologically, to designate that which has grown to be a distinct race of man.

[8] It would seem an absolute necessity, that primitive tribes should maintain the water-lines of the country they penetrated. 'If such be the case, noticing the geographical peculiarities of the west frontier of India, this Turanian race would have divided at the Desert of Scinde; one branch following the course of the Indus and its tributaries to the Land of the Five Rivers: the other, turning south, would have both crossed and followed the many watercourses which drain into the Arabian Sea, on their way towards the Dekkan.

[9] Caldwell, 'Comparative Grammar of the Drâvidian Languages.' I beg here to acknowledge my debt to the above valuable work for much of the information I have incorporated in this chapter.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. I.

Turanian tree had first been biassed through the superior religious instinct of the Ârya.

174

If we consider that the many tribes of these three dominant races, brought into India the various habits, religious observances, and dialects of the diverse tracts of Asia whence they emigrated. When we further reflect on the different results which must have ensued during their residence in the country of their adoption, from the contiguity of certain of them to the progressive Brahmanical race, with its refined and copious vocabulary, its elevated moral code, with idealised pantheon of heroes and heroines; and the proximity of others to the carnivorous Kôl, his tutelary deities and bloody rites. Further, bearing in mind the isolation of tribes kept asunder by the lawlessness of the times, the pathless nature of the country, and the conservative nature of tribal barbarians;—we can readily comprehend why Drâvidian tribes have now concreted into separate nationalities, whose dialects are 'distinct though affiliated languages,'[11] and whose religion varies in every shade, from the simple but senseless, or perhaps cruel, observances introduced by original immigrants, to the complex rites of corrupted Hinduism.

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The accompanying sketch map of the Indian peninsula describes the position in the country which the Drâvidians hold at the present day; when, after their wanderings and their wars, the various tribes of which the race is composed had settled down, then expanded into important nations, speaking distinct dialects, of which the following are now highly cultivated:—

i. Tamil. iii. Kanarese.
ii. Telugu. iv. Malayâlam.
v. Tuluva.

Three others, viz.,

vi. Toda. vii. Gónd. viii. Ku or Khond,

[11] Caldwell.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

remain in their pristine barbarous state; innocent even of written characters; and there are said to be several other minor dialects or corruptions belonging to small sylvan families holding unimportant geographical positions in the Drâvidian area.

Remnants of the ejected Kôls are shown on the eastern limits, and Âryanised peoples are closed in on the entire northern boundary.

The Rev. Dr. Pope, in his contribution to this book,[12] gives it as his opinion that the Toda language was originally old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. He thinks that the language has dwindled to a mere skeleton, as a result of isolation and consequent degeneration of the people.

The early Indian history of the Todas has been as completely lost as that of the long protracted period which preceded their migration to the Dekkan.

We know, indeed, with a tolerable degree of certainty, both from their own legends and from those of neighbouring tribes, that until the last few hundred years they inhabited a jungle tract of inferior hills situated between the Kanarese and Tamilian districts, in the direction of Hâsanûr; which, on E. longitude 77° 20′ and N. latitude 11° 45′ form portion of the Eastern Ghats. And that they then divided into two or more parts, of which one settled in a northerly direction, near Kôlegâll, and the other migrated or was driven in the direction of the Nilagiri Mountain;[13] the greater number

[12] Vide Chapter XXIX., 'Outlines of the Tuḍa Grammar.'

At the time of recording this opinion, Dr. Pope had not had opportunity of perusing any portion of my descriptions of Toda life. Had he done so, it is possible he might have modified his views. I, who judge the Todas physically and through their antique customs and practices, fail to discover any degeneracy in the people; rather regarding them as not only without evidence of having been better, but with little appearance of having been materially different from what they now are, within any period whose length may be fixed or even approximated.

[13] Mr. Metz, who obtained this information from the Todas, is my authority for this paragraph.

CHAP. XXIX. The Drâviḍian languages had originally one cerebral, as had the Sanskrit and the Welsh.

193 (2) The Tuḍa *temporal particles* (§ 28) are

k for the *present* (ch, sh, h)
th (sharp) for the *past* (d)
b for the *future* (p, v) (only obscurely indicated).

It is perhaps in vain to form conjectures as to the origin of these, but k seems allied to ge or ke=do;

th may be connected with the root tâ, dâ, d'hâ=*give, place, establish.*
b is possibly allied to S. *bhû* and its cognates.

(3) The Tuḍa nominal inflectional particles, or case endings, are (§§ 15–17) at the most four:

g (k); edd (end); ad; orth.

Of these g I connect with ge=do;

edd (end=erd) is past of er=be;
ad (ath) is adj. pronoun;
orth (or) is the root of a verb, signifying *absolute existence.*

§ 44. On the whole I venture to think that

194 (1) The Tuḍa is a language which was once highly inflectional; but, having lost most of its inflections, the people, who have evidently degenerated in every way as the result of isolation, have not replaced them by significant particles or auxiliaries to the same extent as the other South-Indian tribes; and the language has thus dwindled down to a mere skeleton. It now barely suffices for the purposes of a very barbarous people.

197 (2) The language seems to have been originally Old Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect. The Tuḍas were probably immigrants from the Kanarese country; and have dwelt on the Nîlagiris for about 800 years. Their language was Old Kanarese. A few Tamil forms were introduced by

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1 [The Reverend G.U. Pope, author of this chapter --Analyst]

CHAP. XXIX.

the Poligars. Intercourse with the Baḍagars has probably modernized a few of the forms and introduced some words. Of Telugu influences I see no trace. It is true that the Tuḍa for *tree* is **mâa**, and in Telugu *mânu*, while in Tam. and Kan. it is *maru*; but the soft *r* is always avoided by the Tuḍas, who turn *vêram* into *vêm*.

Nor can I trace any resemblance in Tuḍa to Malayalim, in any of the points where that dialect differs from its sisters.

NOTE. Some words have been added to the above list, since the 'outlines' left Dr. Pope's hands. If, in consequence, a few errors have crept into the Chapter, I alone must be held to be responsible for them.—W. E. M.

ADDENDA.

(Translation of Deuteronomy, chap. xxv. 5.)

vodd ennan athum enorvet-mokh vodd-
An elder-brother (and) *his other-born* (younger brother) *in one*

ârruleh uddâdi, vodd, âl mokh illâde,
Toda house if they are, one Toda-man a son is not, (childless)

kôdag-pôkadi kôdag-pôkan kâtvodi-kukh en-odd-
if he goes to death (dies) *the dead-one's bound-woman* (wife) *to another*

âlg kaṭṭaṭi, â kukh-âl, enorvet-mokh
man must not join, that woman's man's (husband) *younger-brother*

illaveniâdi, pêyâl â kukh kekhuri vorgma,
or if not, the brother-in-law (near relation) *that woman near shall sleep,*

athum kudma, kâtvodi-âlg enorvet âdi.
her shall join, as a wife's man's younger-brother shall he do.

[p. 270 is blank]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

The Todas, as we have said, believe in a Heaven and Hell, the latter represented by a river or swamp full of leeches. The road to *Âmunâd* (Heaven) lies across this stream, and those who have already reached their Paradise, make for new-comers a bridge formed of a single thread, which will bear a good man, but breaks under the weight of a sinner, and precipitates him into *Pâférigén** (Hell) (from *pâf*, leech; *éri*, place; *gén*, water), where he remains until he has expiated his offences. I asked particularly what became of the slaughtered buffaloes meanwhile, but my informant had evidently taken this economical question into consideration, and replied that they crossed higher up, and were utilized by the dead man's family until his penance was over.

Âmunâd is presided over by Ēn, a deified Toda, on whose authority the Todas believe it to be "a good place." Their description of it however does not seem attractive. They say that here men's arms and legs are poisonous, so that by culture they wear out the earth, but that in *Âmunâd* the tables are turned, and the arms and legs of the cultivators are gradually worn down to the elbows and knees. When they have arrived at this stage, they return to earth. This seems a strange form of the common tradition of antagonism† between the earth and its inhabitants. As Todas cannot be accused of wearing out the earth by culture, this peculiarity of *Âmunâd* probably only affects strangers. It is curious to find this prejudice against agriculture expressed in almost the same terms as far back as the time of Menu. *Cf. Institutes, X.* 84. "Agriculture is a mode of subsistence which the benevolent greatly blame: for the iron-mouthed pieces of wood not only wound the earth, but the creatures dwelling in it."

The bridge of thread recalls the Mahomedan Al Sirât, and the Badagas have a similar tradition, which receives a curious illustration from the actual practice of the Khâsias, when carrying home the remains of any of their number who may have died at a distance. "The dead, they say, have not the strength or ability to wade through water, and if they trust themselves to it, would be carried down the stream, never to be recovered. They, therefore, stretch a thread of cotton from one bank to the other, and, if the breadth is great, this is kept clear of the water by sticks planted in the bed of the river, and notched at the top to receive it. If the running water should be very narrow, merely a stick is laid, or even a stalk of grass is considered sufficient to form a bridge for the dead man's soul. The line of thread is called the 'string bridge'"‡

Our own old superstition about the inability of witches to cross running water seems a reproduction of the same idea.

The Todas have no written language. Captain Harkness§ speaking of their dialect says, "It appears to be quite distinct from the languages of the surrounding countries. With the Sanscrit it has not the least affinity in roots, construction, or sound, and if I may venture to say so, as little with any Asiatic language of the present day."

Major Ross King gives a similar account in the *Journal of Anthropology* for July 1870.

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* Dr. Pope (*Outlines*, &c.) says "pûf, an insect, is probably old Kanarese-puru. It must, however, be stated that the words in which *f* is found are precisely those which it is most difficult to trace."

† Compare *Genesis* i. 28, and iv. 12; also *Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, page 248, story of Prithu and Prithivi.

‡ *On the Stone Monuments of the Khâsi Hill Tribes*, by Major H. H. Godwin-Austen. *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, October 1871, Vol. I., No. II.

§ *Neilgherry Hills*, p. 25.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

Little was known of the Toda language in Captain Harkness' time. Since then it has been studied and analysed, and both in grammatical structure and inflexional forms, it is found to resemble closely the other Dravidian* languages of Southern India.

Tamil and Canarese derivatives form the bulk of the language. Out of a hundred words commonly made use of by a Toda, Mr. Metz finds at least eighty to be identically the same with, or derived from, words used by his Dravidian neighbours: other philologists might find more.†

Mr. Metz has kindly furnished me with a vocabulary (Appendix A.) giving the correct rendering in Toda, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, and Badaga, of all the words contained in Dr. Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of non-Aryan languages of India and High Asia.*

To this vocabulary Mr. Metz and I have prefixed a table of letters with the corresponding sound of each in some European language. We have followed, as far as possible, Dr. Pope's *South Indian Alphabet,* to which however a few additions have been found necessary, in order not to sacrifice the sound or the derivation of words;‡ for instance, Todas for the most part pronounce the long *a* like *a* in *all.* To have rendered the *a* by *ŏ* or *au* would have obscured the derivation in many cases: ex. gr., Tamil pâl milk = Toda pâl (paul).

Dr. Pope's object was the simple transliteration of South Indian written characters, not the representation of the sounds contained in all the dialects written and unwritten. For philological and ethnological objects, which presumably the Government have in view in ordering inquiries such as I am conducting, simplicity is less important than the accurate rendering of every sound by a distinct character, so as to facilitate comparison and analysis by philologists personally unacquainted with the dialects. Moreover at present none of the systems of transliteration proposed by Sir W. Jones, Drs. Wilson, Caldwell, Pope, and others, have commanded universal acceptance; and the result is that even the various written characters are not always uniformly rendered, while the unwritten dialects depend for their orthography on the taste and fancy of the speller. The consequences of this are well illustrated in Dr. Hunter's work. He has necessarily compiled his Dictionary from various vocabularies, spelt upon no uniform system, and has wisely refrained, as he says, "from corrections in languages of which he was ignorant."

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* With regard to the theory propounded by Mr. Gover in *The Folk-songs of Southern India,* of the Aryan origin of Dravidian languages, an extract from a letter of Dr. Gundert's, with which Mr. Metz has favoured me, may be interesting:—

"Thus much I think I myself know, that no one acquainted with both families of speech will ever make "Dravidians into Aryans. How much the former have borrowed from the latter is well known. That the "latter in turn have borrowed words from the Dravidian, I have, I think, proved in greater detail than is to "be found in Caldwell."

† Dr. Caldwell (*Comp. Gram.* p. 16) says, "Of all the Dravidian idioms the Tamil is that to which the "Toda language is most nearly allied."

Mr. Metz thinks that it is more nearly connected with old Kanarese, but that it is as distinct a dialect as Tula.

Dr. Pope ("*Outlines of Toda Grammar,* § 44") says, "The language seems to have been originally old "Kanarese, and not a distinct dialect."

Mr. Burnell has noted the large proportion of Sanscrit words in the Toda vocabulary.

‡ Since the above was written, Dr. Pope's "Outlines of the Toda grammar," written for Colonel Marshall's book, has been printed. The vocabulary, however, contains different words; the spelling also is rather different, as is inevitable, when no recognised system exists.—*Ed.*

(9019.)

1 [Not reproduced — Analysis]

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22/ I took the liberty of doing so in one or two instances, but always
62/ found them totally destitute of either utensils or furniture, and even of fixtures, beyond a raised earthen ledge along the foot of the wall, answering the purpose of a table. They were all without any light, beyond that which could find an entrance through the aperture which does duty as a door.

16/ The total strength of the Todas at the present day is probably under eight hundred, of all ages. It is impossible to form an estimate of the original importance and numbers of such a people; but there are indications of former Toda *munds* where none now exist, so that the tribe has doubtless been more numerous at some past epoch.

186 It is the boast of the Todas that they are hereditary and
563 original lords of the soil, and owners of the whole of the Nil-
65/ giris, a claim fully allowed by the other tribes, as evidenced by their paying tribute for the land, and owning a sort of feudal vassalage. Each Toda family has its own territorial property, or district, and the Vadacas living on it are, as already stated, simply tenants, paying an annual tax, or rent in kind, for the land they live on or cultivate. We also, I believe, acknowledge their title
[72/] by paying a yearly tax for our occupation. The natural peacefulness of the Toda tribe, together with their ignorance of war, make it improbable that their ancestors ever forcibly usurped the territory, and they have doubtless always been regarded by the other tribes as a superior race, entitled to it from immemorial possession and residence.

191 Their language affords no clue to their origin, and is as strange
197 and peculiar as themselves. It is deep-toned, harsh, and difficult of pronunciation, and without written character. It is neither spoken nor understood by the other hill-tribes with whom they are in almost daily contact, though one would have imagined that the necessity for communication for purposes of barter or exchange would, in course of time, have caused a mutual knowledge of their languages; but it is the Todas only who have acquired the means of communication, having just so much knowledge of the speech of their vassals as is demanded by the most
197 ordinary requirements. The Toda tongue is said to comprise words of Sanskrit and Tamul origin, and to have a certain limited similarity in grammatical structure to the latter language. In all other respects, it differs widely from it or any known tongue either of the vast Indian empire, or of any other country. Recent

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research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it.

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to every-day life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

12; Emeneau L-5 (1935-1938)1941 AW60 Toda AW60

But, since they

speak a Dravidian language, closely allied with Kannaḍa and Tamil, and more closely, as I judge provisionally, with Kannaḍa, it seems profitable to look to a generalized South Indian background as a basis for the highly specialized and aberrant Toda culture forms. We find at once that the generalized South Indian culture background includes exogamous patrilineal sibs with marriage forbidden also within the matrilineal line to degrees that vary from community to community.[26] There is no record of fully developed exogamous matrilineal sibs in the large area until we reach the Malabar region on the southwest coast of India. There we find in some caste-communities matrilineal descent to the exclusion of patrilineal. Rivers was inclined on a number of grounds to uphold the hypothesis that the Todas in very early times migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar.[27] Practically all of his pieces of evidence prove invalid.

It was a wild guess that the Toda language is closely related to Malayalam, and the fact that some of the diviners of the Todas undoubtedly do speak a very fragmentary Malayalam during their performances is irrelevant. The diviners speak the language of the god by whom they are possessed; the god who inspires most of the Toda diviners has his temple in the Wynaad among a Malayalam-speaking population. It was suggested[28] that the model house or dairy used in the ur-fo̱ṯt ceremony, and called po̱l-po̱ǰ (Rivers' pülpali), has some connection with the tamarind juice used in a Nair ceremony. Linguistically this is impossible; the Toda word for tamarind (py̱ǰ) has no possible connection.

Toda polyandry was connected with the various types of polyandry formerly, and in some castes still, practised in Malabar. Much more investigation is needed in Malabar before comparison can be made safely between the institutions. It has been the experience of ethnologists in India that no summary accounts of communities hitherto published can be trusted. Even the best of them, such as the various *Castes and Tribes* volumes, are highly untrustworthy. Since in Malabar, polyandry is combined with matrilineal descent, the situation is undoubtedly oriented differently from that of the Todas, and a study of the total configuration in Malabar castes should be made before comparisons are entered upon. Furthermore, Toda polyandry needs to be reexamined in the light of the fact that the Kotas of the Nilgiris have been found to practise a special type of fraternal polyandry.[29]

The to̱ṛṯǰo̱ǰ or "lover-mistress" institution (Rivers' mokhthoditi) is on the whole so unlike the marriages between the younger sons of Nambutiri Brahmans and Nair women that use of the superficial and strained resemblance is highly unprofitable.

[26] I base this statement partly on the literature (not all the pertinent facts are to be found there), partly on my own investigations (which were thorough among the Coorgs, an account of whose regulations will be found in my paper *Kinship and Marriage among the Coorgs* [Journal, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Vol. 4, pp. 123–47, 1938]; sketchy enquiries were made on several other communities). The point, I think, is of more fundamental importance for the understanding of South Indian ethnology than that about cross-cousin marriage, which Rivers treated in *The Marriage of Cousins in India* (Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 611–40, 1907). [27] Pp. 693–718, especially pp. 698 ff. [28] Rivers, p. 702.

[29] D. G. Mandelbaum, *Polyandry in Kota Society* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 40, pp. 379–83, 1938).

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776 Then come two important demi-gods: a) *Kwotèn*, a man-god whose fabulous life is closely associated with one of the Toda clans (that of Pan); Rivers believed him to have been an outstanding Toda personality who was possibly posthumously deified. b) *Kwoto*, another man-god; he is closely associated with the clan of Melgarsh; among the legendary feats which he is reputed to have accomplished is that of tying down the sun between two mountains and of taking it to drink at a stream every day, in order to prove to the gods, who had challenged him, that he possessed supernatural powers.

197 The language spoken by the Todas is a Dravidian dialect. According to Emeneau, it is more akin to Canarese (Kanada) than to Tamil, although it cannot be said to be a very close relative of the former either. All Todas are, anyhow, bilingual, and very often even trilingual, conversing freely in Badaga with their neighbours and in Tamil with visitors from the plains. As they have no script of their own, when they occasionally want to write something (such as commemorative inscriptions on temple doors) they make use of Tamil characters. I have never seen them use Roman letters, but I have been told (by Miss C. F. Ling for instance) that although not habitual, this is sometimes also done.

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234 433 The economy of the Todas is a pastoral one, large herds of great horned buffaloes, which do not resemble those of the plains, being kept for their milk and milk products. Many of these animals are quite ordinary (*putir*) but the great majority of them are pedigree cattle of a sacred nature (*postir*), their ancestry being calculated through the cows. They are believed to have been given to the tribe by the gods. They are grouped in four principal categories, each graded hierarchically. Thus the lowest category is that of the *wursulir*, then come the *nodrovair* and the *Kugvalir*, and finally, the highest and most sacred of all, the *tiir*.

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[648] [24] [427] Like other pastoral people, the Todas consider it degrading to take to agriculture, and repeated attempts by the Indian Government to induce them to till the soil have miserably failed. When given a field to cultivate, they usually let it out to a Badaga for a nominal sum, preferring to carry on with their animal husbandry and its semi-nomadic form of life, a tradition deeply ingrained in them and to which they are greatly attached. Most of the milk, butter and buttermilk produced by the tribe is consumed by its members, but a certain amount is sold in the local market, and the money thus earned made use of to buy other foods and everyday commodities. On the whole, the Toda

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